The Southern PATRIOT

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Opinion Poll Reveals Democratic Trend

Segregation is one reason for the poverty of the South. It slows down industrial development.

The old agrarian South needed unskilled farm labor and tenant farmers. The new industrial South requires a large supply of highly skilled and well-paid workers to meet the demands of both production and consumption.

Segregation is at home in Hitler's state of superior and inferior races. It has no place in a democracy.

Segregation makes a mockery of religious and ethical beliefs of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of one God.

When an idea or an institution runs counter to our best political and ethical insights and at the same time is opposed to our economic self-interest, it is natural that a large body of opinion favoring social change will be developed, in order to bring practice more in line with conviction.

That is true today in the South with regard to segregation and discrimination, the number one question facing the Southern people. Although it is not generally recognized, there is a large and growing group of Southerners in favor of ending legal segregation now.

This is indicated in the results of our survey of opinion among Southern sociologists appearing in this issue of the **Patriot**. On the question of how to meet the challenge of the Supreme Court decisions concerning higher education for Negroes, our survey shows that three out of four of the social scientists replying are in favor of dropping the racial bars in our graduate and professional schools. Only one in four is in favor of the proposal of the Southern Governors for segregated, regional schools.

That a majority of these social scientists trained to make judgments in the light of fact rather than prejudice, should take this democratic stand at this time, should be a source of encouragement to liberal minded Americans everywhere.

Southern Social Scientists Favor Ending Segregation In Graduate Schools

Almost three-fourths of the social scientists of the Southern states favor the elimination now of racial segregation in graduate and professional schools of state institutions, according to an opinion poll conducted by the Souhtern Conference Educational Fund, publishers of **The Southern Patriot.**

Only one-fourth of the social scientists favor the proposal of the Southern Governors for the establishment of segregated regional schools for Negroes.

Recently the United States Supreme Court in the Ada Sipuel Fisher case ruled that Oklahoma must provide Mrs. Fisher with a legal education in a state institution "and provide it as soon as it does for applicants of any other group."

This decision had an important and immediate effect upon the policies of Southern institutions of higher learning. Within a short time these institutions had revised their policies affecting higher education for Negroes along four different lines.

Four Patterns

Plan A. The University of Delaware opened the doors of its graduate schools to Negroes without segregation, when the desired courses were not offered by a state supported school for Negroes.

Plan B. The University of Arkansas admitted Negroes to its law school, but with segregation.

Plan C. The University of Oklahoma established a new three-teacher school of law, for Negroes only, but thus far with no students.

Plan D. The Southern Governors Conference proposed regional graduate schools for Negroes, with segregation.

An opinion poll was conducted by the Southern Conference Educational Fund to determine which of these four plans was most acceptable to the most impartial and best informed group of experts that could be found in the South. It was assumed that sociologists met these conditions.

A poll was taken of the members of the Southern Sociological Society. Two hundred and forty ballots were mailed*. In a covering letter the four plans: A, B, C, and D were outlined as above and the sociologists were asked to indicate the plan which they considered most acceptable. The ballot read "I favor Plan A___, Plan B___, Plan C___, Plan D___." There was room for comment under the word "Because".

Of the 240 ballots mailed, 73 replies were received, a 30 per cent return. Of those who replied 52 or 71 per cent were for Plan A of the University of Delaware eliminating segregation; 18 or 25 per cent were for Plan D, for regional schools, and 3, or 4 per cent, of those replying found all of the 4 plans unsatisfactory.

RESULTS BY STATES

	Favor Plan A	Favor Plan D	Favor None	
Alabama	5	0		5
Arkansas	1	0		1
Florida	3	3		6
Georgia	7	2		9
Kentucky	4	2	1	7
No. Carolina	12		1	13
Oklahoma	2	0		2
So. Carolina	3	1		4
Tennessee	4	5		9
Texas	1	0		1
Virginia	4	5		9
State not known	6	0	1	7
Total	52	18	3	73

No signatures were asked for. The state of the respondent was ascertained

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*Actually 246 were mailed, including 22 in Louisiana and 4 in Mississippi. Unfortunately the ballots from these 26 persons could not be included in the results of the poll, because they became confused with ballots received from these two states from other groups or educators.

Southern Social Scientists

(Continued from page 1)

from the postmark on the envelope. No further identification was attempted.

REASONS FOR FAVORING PLAN A

Among the reasons given for favoring Plan A (The Delaware Plan without segregation), there were 3 that were mentioned from 8 to 16 times: "more democratic" was mentioned 16 times; "more economical," 10 times; more efficient, practical or expedient, 11 times. Other reasons listed from one to 6 times were psychological, constitutional, and religious or ethical.

ALABAMA

1. It is the only plan which does not recognize race as a factor determining the general welfare of the individual. It will speed up the democratic process.

2. Because of the obvious justice and constitutionality of this plan as well as its economy.

3. Because enforced segregation is distasteful to human beings.

ARKANSAS

4. Best approach to free opportunity.

5. Cheaper, allows more efficient use of available monies, and just.

6. Financially expedient, educationally just, socially enlightened.

7. It is the only one in harmony with the constitution and the principles of religion, and which is also practical.

GEORGIA

8. It is the only democratic plan.

9. It is in my judgment the only plan attempted so far that is consistent with our democratic creed. The others are "looking backward," while Delaware points to the future.

10. It saves money, offers work of equality, is the plan based on common sense, and is the only decent one, and at the same time contains no elements of danger. It exists in several private schools but without publicity. I am a graduate of the University of Virginia.

11. Represents a step in the gradual solution of problem. Others do not.

KENTUCKY

12. This is a border state like Delaware and is certainly ready for bi-racial graduate study; it will be more efficient, less expensive, foster better citizenship.

NORTH CAROLINA

13. The mingling of qualified students of both races on the graduate level will be less fraught with menace to good interracial understanding than would an immediate introduction of interracial education on the lower educational levels of undergraduate and secondary school education. Let us demonstrate its success on the graduate level as a means of changing public opinion towards its acceptance more generally.

14. Democracy, guaranteed by our constitution, advocates this equality. It is less costly and more efficient. Negroes and Whites will not marry or "mate", because mating is a highly selective process, based on "consciousness of kind". Association of races on graduate level is the safe level.

15. It is practical. Plan D, without segregation, also is practical.

16. It is the nearest thing to a solution of the separate and unequal dilemma.

17. It is the only arrangement conducive to the fullest devleopment of our society as a whole. Plan B may be best in certain local instances since a pattern cannot be imposed from without. Plan C and D would result in a property investment deterent to further progress. Plan D, further, does not fulfill a major purpose of a university—to serve the people of the state as a whole.

SOUTH CAROLINA

18. Plan A no doubt can be used in a few places. Plan B might be used in other places as a step toward plan A. Plan C is out of the question for most states. I am doubtful about the success of plan D.

TENNESSEE

19. I favor the abolition of segregation as rapidly as possible.

TEXAS

20. Plan A is the ideal; but may not be realizable. If there were any assurance that all states would support plan D, it would be more feasible.

VIRGINIA

21. I believe in the equality of races and also for enlightened self-interest that in the long run it would be better for both races and the nation.

22. Most realistic compromise as of the present.

23. Equality—less expensive — no reason to deny any human being opportunities.

REASONS FOR FAVORING PLAN D

There were 18 replies favoring Plan D. Four of these gave no reasons for their position. Of the 14 that commented, ten of them used the appeal to expediency; Plan D, they said, was more practical. Six stated that Plan A was the long-range goal but not practical at the moment. Two favored Plan D because they supported the idea of regional schools, regardless of segregation No one attempted to justify segregation per se.

1. I favor Plan D for the present as the others are not practical. Another generation may be more liberal. As a northerner and for many years a teacher in the University of Florida I concluded long ago that the South would, in time, settle the problems of relations without interference from outside and without too much haste.

2. The time is not ripe for social equality.

GEORGIA

3. It can be carried out now without friction which is not true of the others. Later changes may be made, if needed.

4. The Negro cannot be forced on the Southerners but must first prove his worth as a man. Thru better education perhaps this can be accomplished.

KENTUCKY

5. It is likely to develop the least friction and will conduce to better race relations; eventually it may give way to Plan A.

SOUTH CAROLINA

6. I think it is the most practical and feasible proposal for improving Negro higher education at the present time (considering prevailing attitudes in South Carolina). Plan A I believe to be a long-time goal. Regional schools have advantages for both races regardless of the segregation issue.

TENNESSEE

7. Plan D seems to be the only workable plan at the present time that offers the Negro graduate student a reasonable chance of advanced training on a high plane. I personally would favor Plan A (admission of Negro graduate students into the state university) if attitudes of personnel and administration were favorable. I am afraid, however, with most Southern Universities the Negro student would probably be flunked out. We should work toward Plan A.

8. It has more prospect of success.

9. Given the cultural background of the South, I consider Plan D the most feasible although the least economical.

10. Best in light of present conditions; financially and socially.

11. It is the possible entering wedge to get regional schools for whites as well as Negroes. Adequate education for both races is more important than the principle of segregation.

VIRGINIA

12. Nothing gained by exposing Negro students to white prejudice at such close range.

Defendants Win Victory In Birmingham Segregation Case

A victory was chalked up against the white supremacy forces of Birmingham in the "not guilty" decision of Recorder's Court Judge Oliver C. Hall in the case of four persons charged with violating the city's segregation law.*

The four defendants, Dr. James A. Dombrowski, Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Mrs. Doris Senk Bloch, Secretary of the American Youth for a Free World; Edward Forrey, and the Rev. Claude Oliver, were arrested at a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. The first two were speakers; Forrey was a white delegate from the Mobile local of the National Maritime Union; and the Rev. Oliver was pastor of the church in which the meeting was held.

Senator Taylor Arrested

Sen. Glen Taylor was arrested later the same day while attempting to enter the church to address the SNYC conference.

Judge Hall insisted that laws separating the races were "good" but stated that the facts did not prove the segregation laws had been violated.

The defendants were represented by Thomas W. Johnson, of Macon, Ga.; Arthur Shores and George Trawick of Birmingham.

The city based its case on whether Eddie Forrey, the only white delegate present, had been segregated. The evidence showed that he had been seated alone on a bench at right angles to the other benches in the hall. The law requires that there be a "well defined barrier" separating the races. But "physical barrier," said the judge, "was a matter of interpretation." It might even be an imaginary line.

City Fathers Fearful

After listening to the case many were of the opinion that the city fathers were doubtful about the constitutionality of the segregation law and were afraid to have the law tested in the Supreme Court.

At the beginning of the trial defense counsel, Thomas Johnson, of Macon, Ga., moved that the case be dismissed on the ground that the city's segregation law and its enforcement in this case constituted a violation of the constitutional rights of freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of religious worship. He cited a number of decisions of the Supreme Court in which state and local laws had been overruled.

"Obviously," said the Georgia attorney, "this ordinance (segregation) is for the purpose of interfering, regulating and controlling how people shall meet. The court says you can't do that."

Hitler's "Evil Theory"

"By this very ordinance," said Mr. Johnson, "we are attempting to substantiate the evil theory of an inferior and a superior race, a Hitler theory which we have just fought a war to destroy . . ." He asked the court to "rise above local laws and base this decision on fundamental American rights."

City Attorney Tom Huey replied that the segregation law was not a denial of free speech and assembly, but of the right to sit together. "It does deny that," said the city attorney. "We contend, however, it is not a denial of any constitutional right."

Judge Oliver overruled the motion to dismiss the case.

Judge Agrees With Hitler

"Hitler was not wrong in everything," said Judge Oliver, in his final statement. "I believe the white man is superior to the Negro." To arouse the hope in the Negro that he can ever attain equality with the white man, said the judge, is to do him a disservice, because it means arousing a hope which can never be realized.

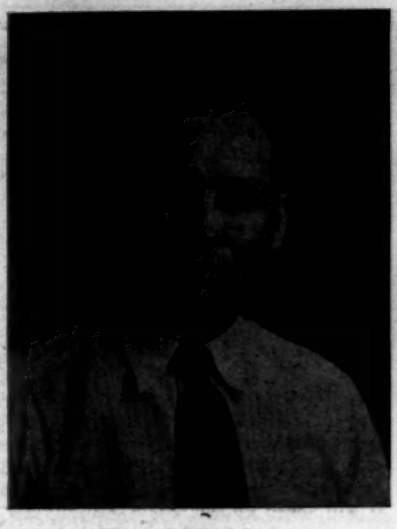
Then the Judge declared the four defendants "not guilty."

"We are not unmindful of the tremendous importance of these cases, both to the City of Birmingham and to these defendants," said Mr. Johnson in his opening argument.

"The City is convinced that the activities on the part of these defendants are a direct threat to what it and thousands of Southerners regard as sacred southern traditions; and these defendants along with their lawyers are equally convinced that the City of Birmingham is using a scheme and device in the form of a segregation ordinance to deny and deprive people of their fundamental human rights, rights that are guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution and made applicable to the States by the Due Process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and further guaranteed by Article 1, Section 25 of the Constitution of the State of Alabama.

This Is An Old Fight

"There is nothing new or novel in our fight here tonight. Tyrants have been denying people their rights from the dawn of civilization, and will continue



Thomas W. Johnson

to do so as long as men are selfish. The First Amendment to the United States Constitution did not enunciate any new doctrine, but merely incorporated essential human rights that our forefathers had wrested from tyrants long before they left Europe to seek freedom on these American shores. They were determined that the same rights would not have to be won again, but here we are tonight in 1948 fighting that these principles might be applied equally to all peoples.

Anti-Semitism and Racism Compared

"It seems a bit strange that we are defending against a vicious racial superiority theory when we have just sent our young men to Europe to destroy Hitler because, among other things, he advocated and practiced a theory of racial superiority. Is there any difference in the way Hitler applied the theory to the Jews and the way the City of Birmingham applies it to the Negro? There is no justification for the theory of racial superiority. Scientists have pointed out time and time again that there is no superior race. We cannot prove our superiority historically, scientifically or Scripturely, and yet we continue to practice it.

". . . In One World As Brothers"

"In this atomic age we do not have time to fight each other over unimportant matters, because we are in a mad rush to beat destruction to the cross roads.

"In order to survive we must learn to live together in one world as brothers. Before we can hope to live together with the rest of the world, we must first learn to live together with our black brother here at home."

The defendants are now considering legal action against the police.

* See "Birmingham Story" in the April Southern Patriot.